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USSR: **Gorbachev Allies Try To Limit Damage at Congress**

***Gorbachev and his supporters appear to be trying to limit damage at the party congress by portraying its traditionalist tone as out of step with the party rank and file and by possibly laying the groundwork for a new congress.***

On Saturday, the congress subjected Politburo members Ryzhkov, Yakovlev, Medvedev, Shevardnadze, and Ligachev to an unprecedented grilling before it voted to stop the process Gorbachev argued would split the party. Gorbachev avoided scrutiny there, but he was dressed down at a meeting last week with middle-level party bureaucrats, where, according to the Soviet press, he was confronted by officials blaming him for undermining their power and demanding that he abandon *perestroyka* and "instill order." *Izvestiya* contrasted this encounter with the much more favorable reception Gorbachev received from workplace-level officials on Friday who called for radicalizing *perestroyka*. The article also suggested the party's traditionalist apparatus rigged the delegate elections to reduce the influence of the more reformist rank and file.

Meanwhile, Gorbachev's supporters appear to be playing down the significance of the congress. Yakovlev told a group of delegates last week that the party's fate would be decided "beyond the walls of the congress." In an interview with Western reporters, Gorbachev aide Shakhnazarov conceded that concessions to the traditionalists are inevitable at the congress but said they will not reverse the trend of democratization in Soviet society. Party secretary Frolov, another Gorbachev ally, in the name of the congress's ideology working group, echoed Yel'tsin's proposal to put off ratifying a party program until a new congress can be convened next year.

**Comment**: The statements by Gorbachev's allies indicate they have little hope of turning the congress in their favor. They could try to use the media's portrayal of the congress as out of touch with the rank and file and the charges that the traditionalist apparatus manipulated the delegate selection process to build a case to convene a new congress. By using such tactics, Gorbachev's supporters probably hope to mobilize rank-and-file support in their struggle against traditionalists after the congress. The remarks by Yakovlev and Shakhnazarov suggest that, even if Gorbachev is able to limit the congress's damage to the party's credibility, they expect him to rely on the presidency and the legislative system to push the reform process.

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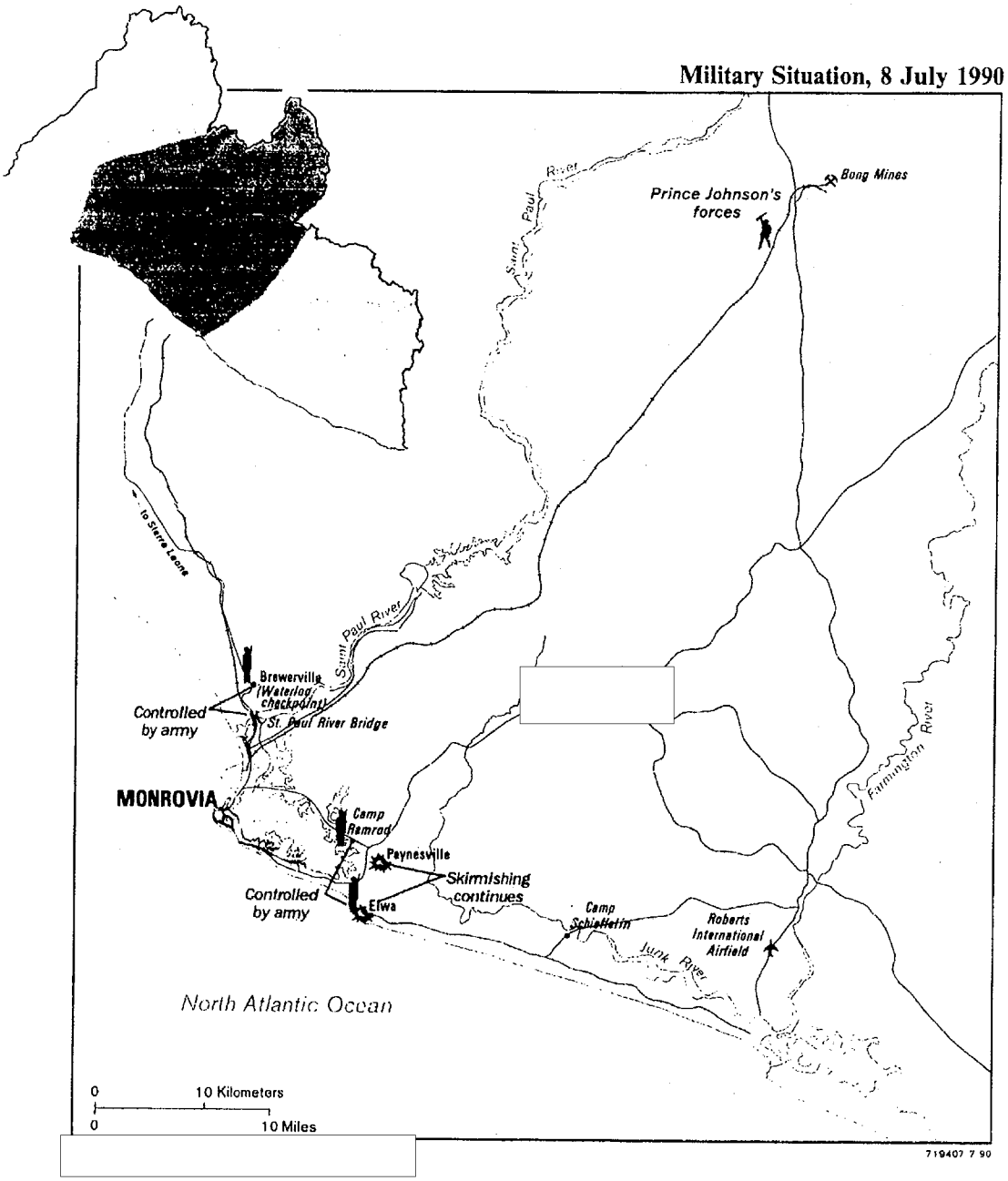
## Military Situation, 8 July 1990

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**LIBERIA:** **Taylor Still Biding His Time**

***Rebel leader Charles Taylor and his troops still appear to be dallying on the perimeters of the capital and are toying with the idea of attending the peace talks in Sierra Leone this week.***

The military situation changed little during the weekend as skirmishing continued on the outskirts of the capital in the vicinity of Paynesville and Elwa. The army still held Camp Ramrod, Elwa junction, the Brewerville checkpoint, and the St. Paul River Bridge yesterday, Army and rebel forces remained in close proximity in the Paynesville area. The rebels claim they have surrounded rival rebel leader Prince Johnson's forces south of Bong Town. the rebels are planning an offensive on Elwa and are reinforcing their positions in the area. Taylor says he plans to take control of the radio station there and to begin broadcasting his intention to rule Liberia after the war is over.

Monrovia was relatively calm during the past several days, except for the army's looting food. Soldiers reportedly broke into the warehouse at the port where the UN stores its rice stocks, Stores and businesses ignored the government's directive to open, although a few markets opened for a short period. Soldiers appeared somewhat better behaved yesterday after a public broadcast warned that anyone caught looting or harassing civilians would be executed.

A rebel spokesman announced yesterday the rebels will send representatives to take part in the peace talks tomorrow in Sierra Leone. The insurgents say they are willing to listen to proposals made by representatives of the Economic Community of West African States, who are acting as mediators. The rebels have stressed, however, that they refuse to consider formation of an interim government without Taylor as leader or any proposal to send an African peacekeeping force into Liberia.

**Comment:** Taylor probably figures he can afford to play psychological games with the government for a few more days. He is likely to become frustrated and move more quickly, however, if he is not able to take over the Elwa radio station soon and begin broadcasting his political agenda to Monrovia. Taylor's sudden willingness to send representatives to the peace talks this week probably reflects his eagerness not to antagonize the US or his African neighbors, whom he undoubtedly is counting on to help bolster his image once the war is over.

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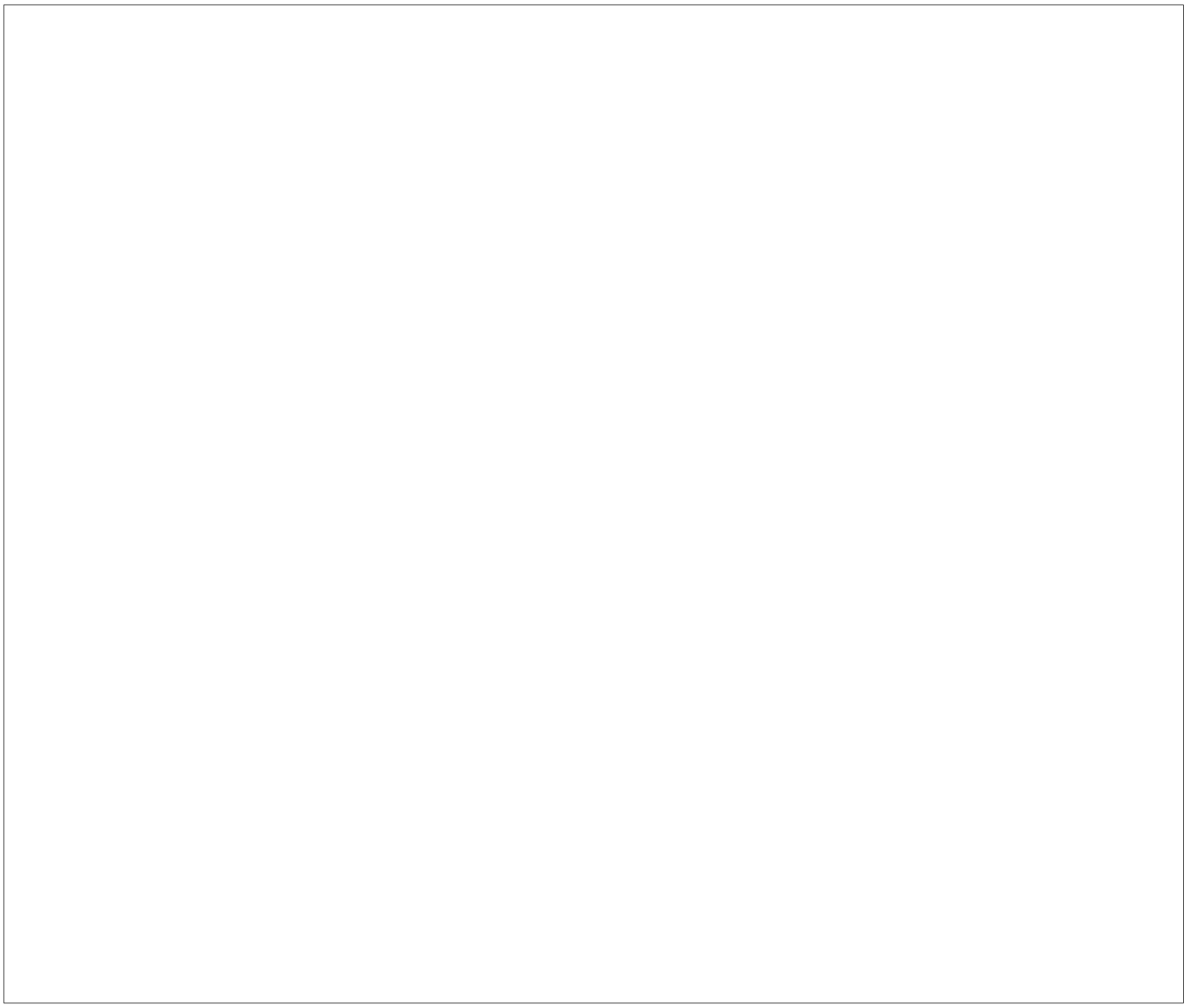

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**ALBANIA:** **Unrest Likely To Continue**

***The situation in Tirane is still highly unsettled. Officials are sending mixed signals on the refugee problem, and a government shuffle this weekend did not add any new faces to the leadership.***

Albanian officials took passport applications of refugees in at least four embassies yesterday. The influx of refugees into foreign embassies seems to have stopped for now, but 6,000 asylum seekers are already there—almost 3,000 in the West German Embassy alone. The food and sanitary situation in the embassies is deteriorating.

Premier Carcani and other leaders have taken a hard line, however, blaming foreign embassies for the situation and denouncing their "brutal interference" in Albania's internal affairs. Carcani reiterated Tirane's refusal to allow Western aircraft to deliver food and medicine. The area around the embassies was closed off by police yesterday, preventing more refugees from entering. Unconfirmed press reports quote Greek sources who claim Albanians illegally crossing the border into Greece have come under fire from Albanian border guards.

Tirane announced a major leadership shuffle on Saturday, following a two-day Communist party Central Committee meeting. Hardline Minister of Internal Affairs Stefani and Minister of People's Defense Murra lost their cabinet posts, and Murra and several other aging party leaders were removed from the Politburo. Stefani, however, kept his Politburo position and was replaced by Hekuran Isai. President Alia announced that more economic and political reforms are in the offing; in particular, private businesses in the service sector will be allowed to expand.

**Comment**: The regime appears to be moving toward the eventual release of most of the current refugees, but concessions probably will be a catalyst for continuing unrest; they may cause an escalation of incidents. The regime probably hopes promises of more political and economic reforms will deter further unrest, but those promises most likely are not enough to appease a now-restive population, which appears to want genuine movement toward improved living conditions and democracy.

The three Politburo members who were retired probably have been on their way out for some time. Their younger replacements seem to be comparatively moderate. This and the fact that Stefani managed to keep his Politburo position indicate hardliners are still a factor to be reckoned with.

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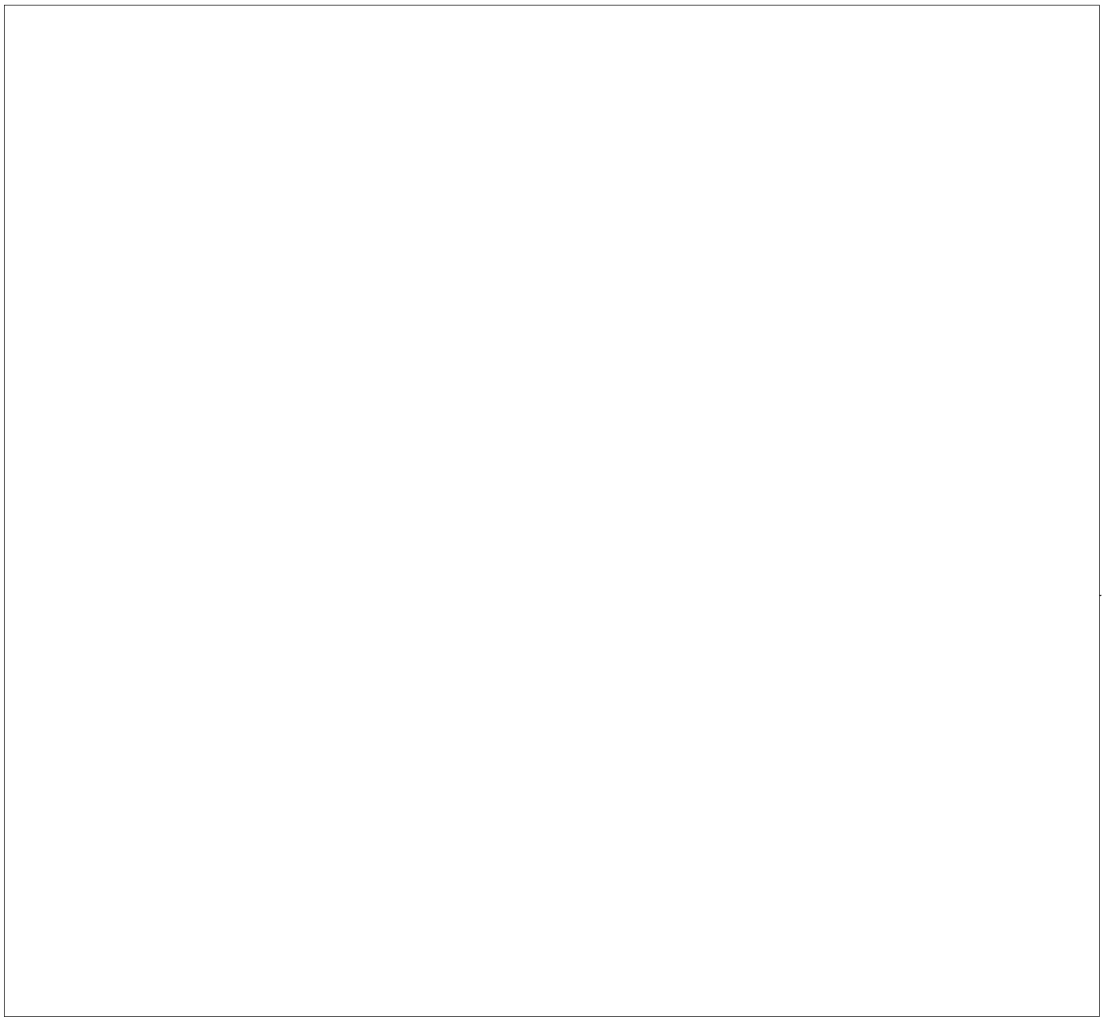

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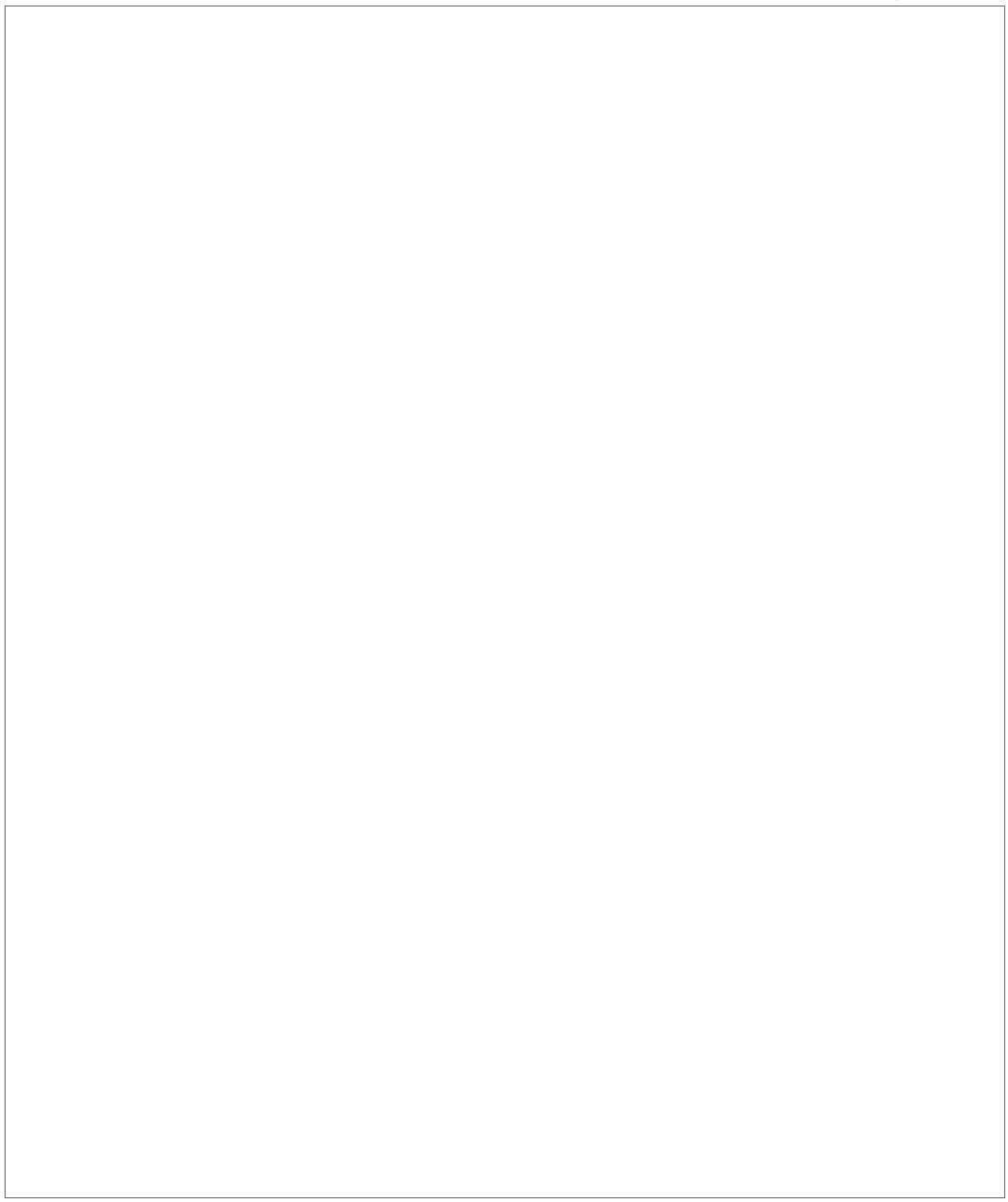

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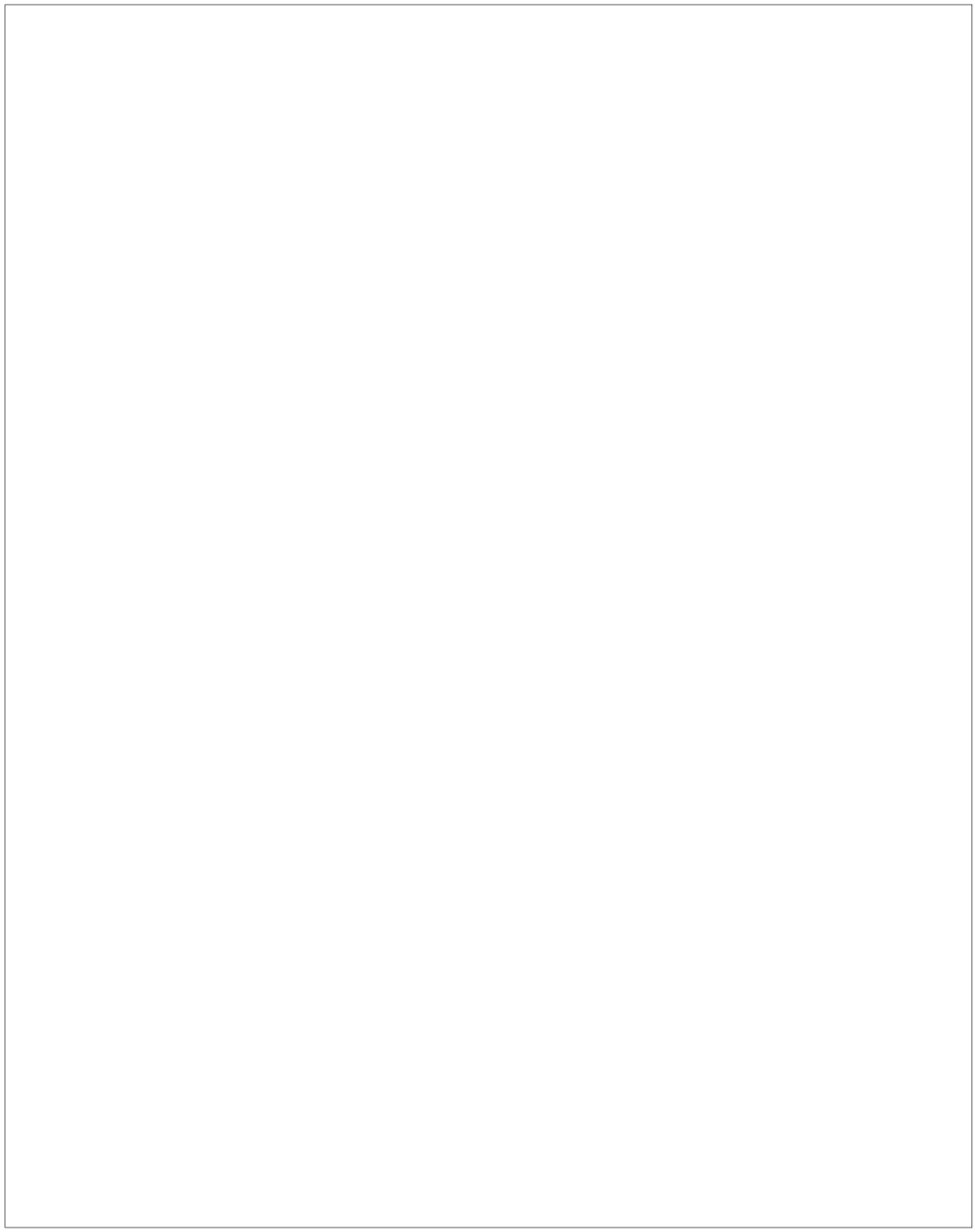

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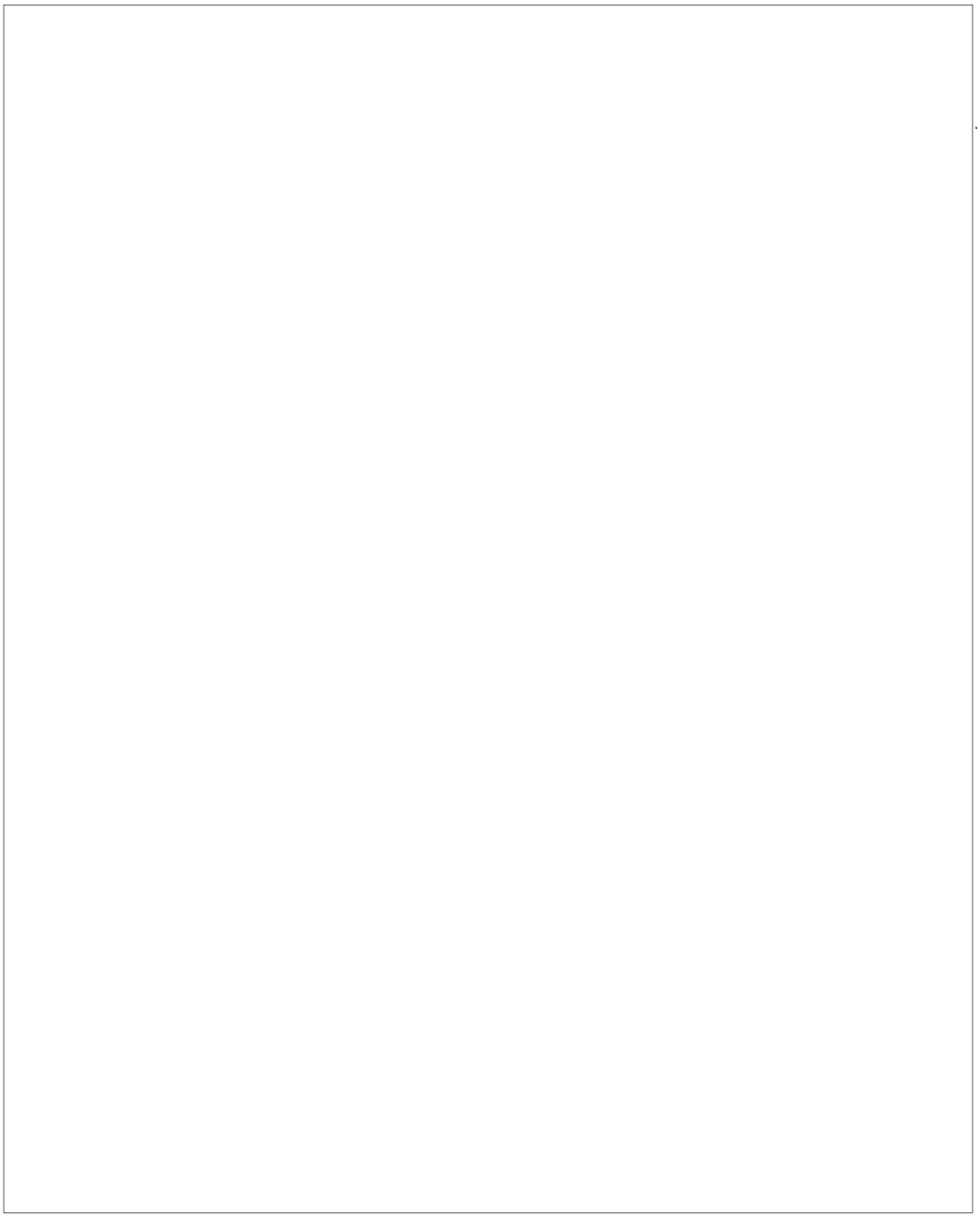
POLAND: **Tentative Mazowiecki-Walesa Truce**

***Despite some minor tactical gains over the weekend, Prime Minister Mazowiecki has yet to succeed in his bid to juggle management of Lech Walesa and the economy at the same time.***

In their quickly arranged "summit" on Saturday at a convent near Warsaw, Mazowiecki and Walesa agreed to continue working together "for the good of the country and . . . democracy," according to a terse press release. Simultaneous talks between the government and representatives of protesting farmers produced no settlement on a key farmer demand—backed by Walesa—for guaranteed minimum procurement prices. The government did promise farmers easier access to credit as well as tax and tariff relief. Warsaw indicates it is ready for more negotiations, and farmer representatives have scaled back the nationwide protest strike that was to occur today to a two-hour round of roadblocks on Wednesday.

**Comment**: Although Walesa acceded to Mazowiecki's insistence on a private meeting somewhere other than the Gdansk shipyard—where Solidarity caucused yesterday—Walesa almost certainly refused to refrain from criticizing the government on specific issues. Warsaw's problems with the farmers will not go away until something is done to improve farm prices. Farmers already believe they are unduly bearing the burden of the government's reform program, a perception certain to spread as Warsaw moves ahead on granting hefty wage increases to urban workers.

Mazowiecki may have bought some short-term breathing space by impressing on Walesa that political squabbling will only undermine Warsaw's efforts to gain Western support for a substantial reduction in Poland's debt obligations. If such support is not forthcoming, Walesa is likely to resume his attacks on the government's economic reform program should he decide to redouble his push for the presidency.



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HAITI: **Transition Under Mounting Stress**

***The recent return of extremists to Haiti threatens to discredit President Trouillot's already weakened government further and undermine her fragile electoral strategy.***

The arrival of Roger Lafontant—Interior Minister under Jean Claude Duvalier—and Williams Regala—who held the same post under General Namphy—has angered politicians and prompted a key labor leader to call a general strike if the two are not arrested. According to press reports, Haiti's attorney general ordered police to arrest Lafontant, although airport authorities refused to detain him. both intend to seek the presidency, but Haiti's Electoral Council—which decides who may run—condemned their presence in the country.

Meanwhile, Trouillot's failure to come to grips with the security issue and differences over recent political appointments with the State Council—which governs with her—are fueling tensions, The government has made little progress in its investigation of the attack late last month on the Council—that killed one member Furthermore, concerns about the safety of election observers have contributed to UN reluctance to provide assistance.

**Comment**: In planning their return, Lafontant and Regala almost certainly calculated that Trouillot would be intimidated by the far right and unwilling to move against them. Their presence and the government's failure to make any arrests in the attack on the State Council probably will embolden other Haitian extremists, particularly those rightists reportedly responsible. As a result, random violence is likely to escalate as the former Duvalierists pressure the Electoral Council to allow them to campaign for the presidency.

Unless Trouillot reacts quickly, the rift with the State Council will widen further and popular demonstrations are increasingly likely. Growing criticism could lead Trouillot to resign; Her departure would be a serious blow to the democratic transition and probably would delay credible elections until next year.

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**NICARAGUA: Government, Strikers Near Showdown**

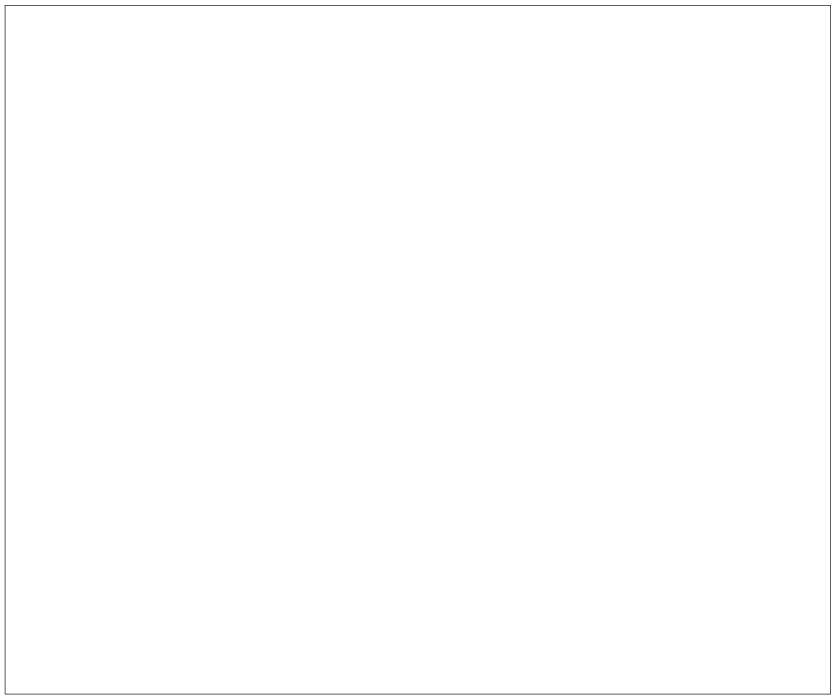
The weeklong general strike has become a test of wills between the Sandinistas and the Chamorro administration. The government has announced that public workers who remain on strike today will be fired, and it has mobilized police forces to protect those who return to work. Talks broke off Friday when the Sandinista labor federation, rejecting President Chamorro's offer of wage hikes and other concessions, presented a list of 18 demands, including an end to the government's plan to privatize state enterprises. Members of the Sandinista National Directorate reportedly are advising strike leaders and have called for an open-ended work stoppage. Violence continues to escalate; press reports indicate government supporters killed one striker and wounded two others on Friday, and a pro-Sandinista mob attacked a vehicle carrying several government ministers.

**Comment**: The Sandinistas probably are trying to preserve the bloated public sector as a haven for their supporters and set the stage for their celebration on 19 July of their assumption of power in 1979. The Chamorro government, which has taken a conciliatory stance toward the Sandinistas, now appears ready for a showdown. If the Sandinista-led police do not preserve order, however, Chamorro will have to choose between giving in or calling on the Sandinista army to suppress the strikers.

**OAU: Annual Summit Opens Today in Addis Ababa**

Discussion at this year's Organization of African Unity summit will focus on South Africa, possible diversion of aid from Africa to Eastern Europe, growing pressure for political liberalization, and Africa's mounting debt burden, now estimated at $255 billion. Participants also will discuss a possible African Economic Community. Although Nelson Mandela is heading the ANC delegation, press reports indicate fewer than 10 heads of state from the OAU's 49 member states will attend. Ugandan President Museveni probably will be named OAU chairman, succeeding Egypt's Mubarak.

**Comment**: The low turnout apparently results from the domestic unrest and economic malaise plaguing many members, the uncertain security situation in Ethiopia, and a general erosion of confidence in the OAU's effectiveness. African leaders probably hope a firmer commitment to economic integration will counter Europe's economic consolidation as well as attract international assistance. Museveni will want to improve Uganda's international standing, damaged during the OAU chairmanship of Idi Amin in the early 1970s. He will encourage negotiated settlements to regional and domestic conflicts.



**KENYA: Hard Line on Political Rights**

A security force crackdown on a banned multiparty rally Saturday illustrates President Moi's tough stance against increasingly vocal demands for political pluralism and may presage further confrontations. Although violence was limited by an overwhelming police show of force, press reports indicate skirmishing between demonstrators and security forces continued yesterday.

Prominent articles in the government-controlled *Kenya Times* accuse the US of sheltering subversives and meddling in Kenya's affairs, but Moi has not publicly criticized Washington—although he has played on the theme of external interference.

**Comment:** Moi, in rejecting domestic and international pressure for political liberalization, appears determined to squelch the multiparty debate by further constricting political and civil rights. Harsh measures, however, are likely to swell the proreform ranks and undermine the regime's legitimacy. Moi almost certainly wants to maintain good relations with the US,

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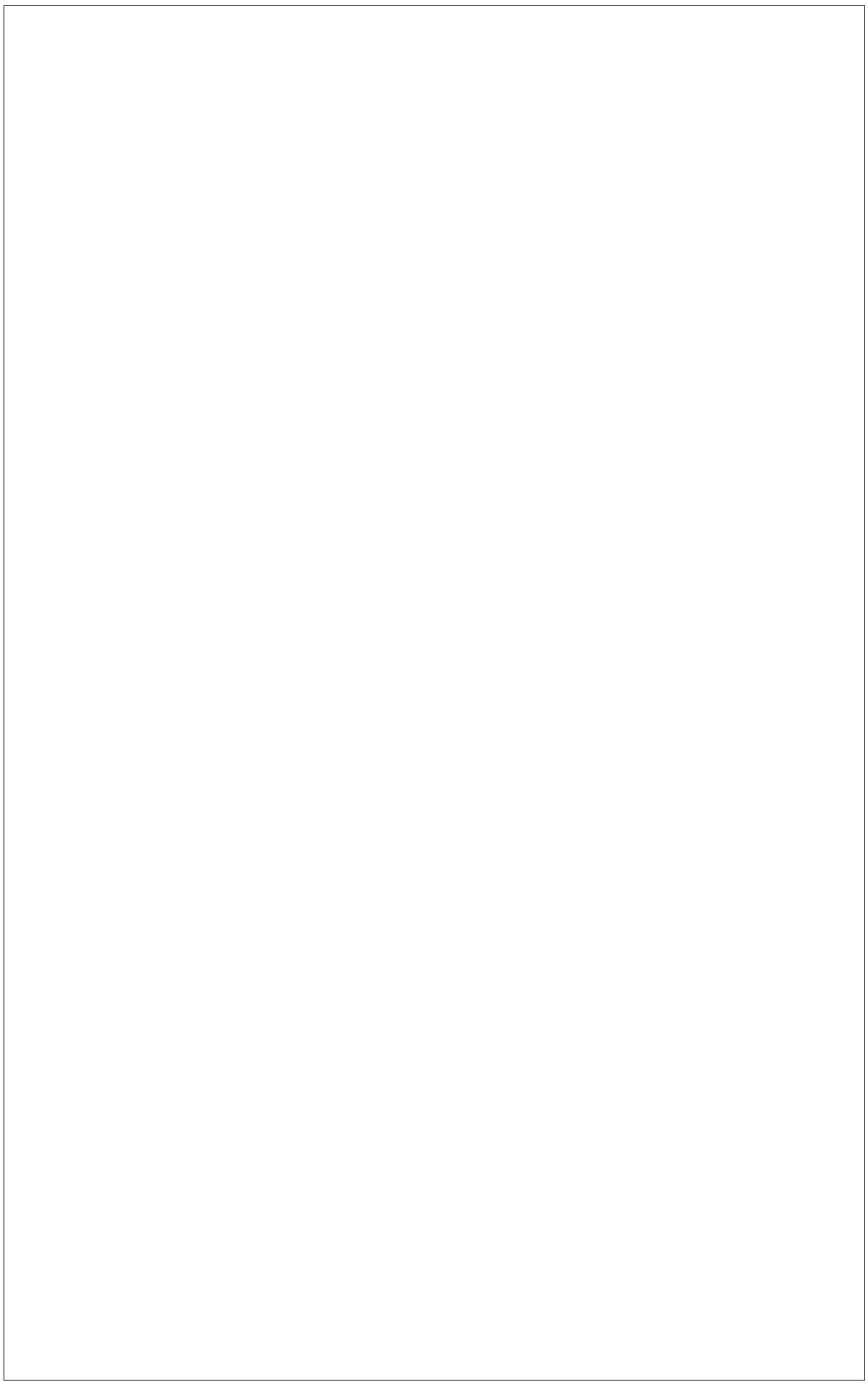

**INDIA: Kashmir Security Measures Increased**

New Delhi recently strengthened the powers of its military and security forces to control the unrest in Jammu and Kashmir state; Governor Saxena endorsed a new special powers ordinance on Friday that allows the military to use "deadly force" to stop civil disorder and to conduct searches and arrests without warrants. Indian troops and security forces enforced an all-day curfew in Srinagar on Saturday and are not allowing even ambulances to carry patients to hospitals, according to press reports. Home Affairs Minister Sayeed and Saxena have announced that Kashmir will be placed under President's Rule—effectively continuing New Delhi's direct control—on 19 July.

**Comment**: These security measures, which probably were prompted by the substantial increase in attacks against government security forces last month and by New Delhi's perception that cross-border infiltrations are increasing, suggest Saxena has temporarily abandoned his conciliatory approach to dealing with Kashmiri unrest. The resort to President's Rule the same week as the scheduled meeting of the Indian and Pakistani foreign secretaries will handicap attempts to reduce local tensions.

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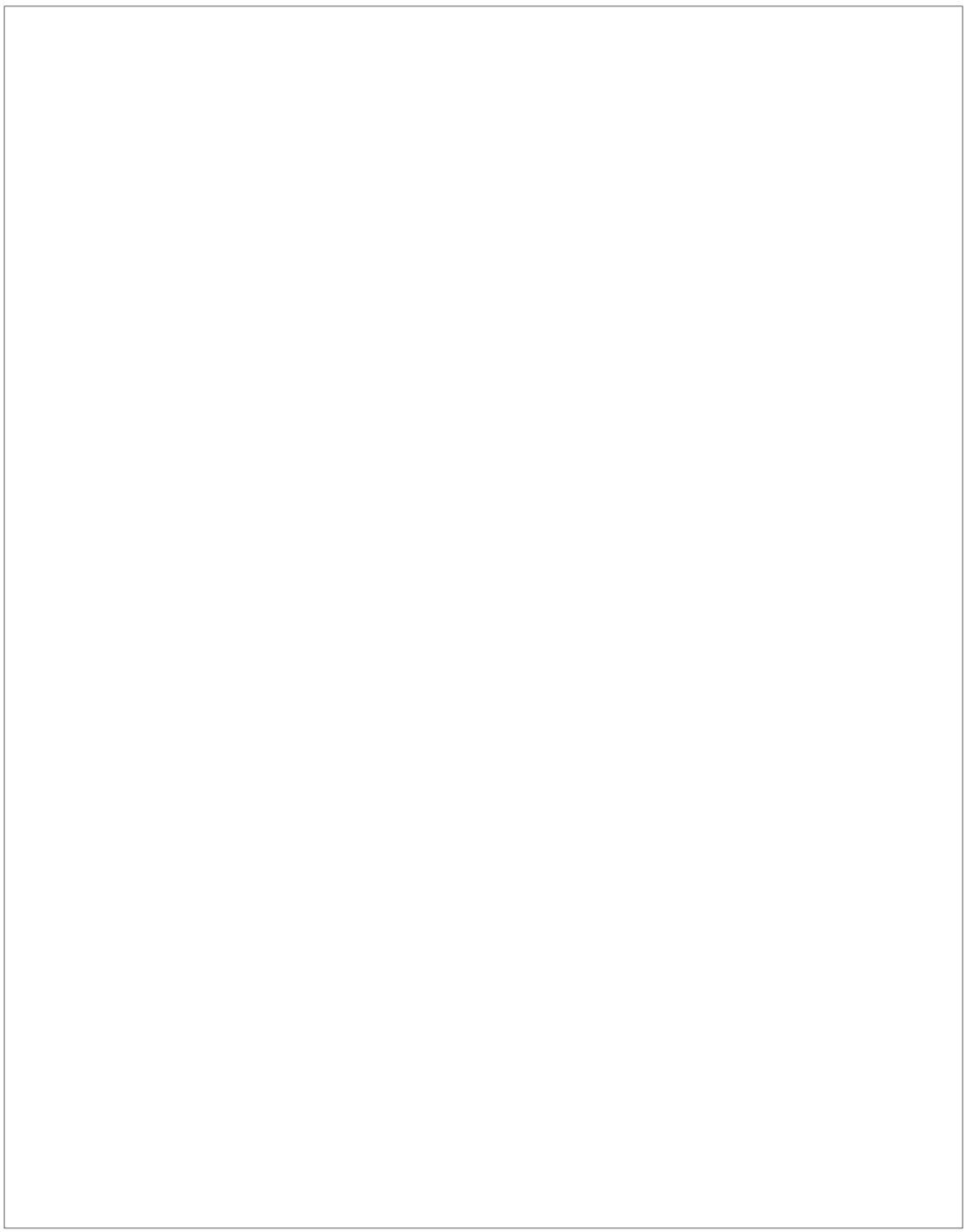

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## In Brief

**Europe**

— Slovenia has rejected demand by **Yugoslav** Government to annul sovereignty declaration . . . forces Belgrade to determine how to enforce its demand . . . inaction probably will embolden Slovene separatists gaining ascendancy in republic's government.

**Africa**

— **Somali** security forces fired on crowd during speech by President Siad Friday . . . 13 killed, scores wounded . . . may spark arrests, brutal crackdown similar to what occurred after riots last July.

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